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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.

All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (post paid) to the General Agent.

Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, BARNABY QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WESLEY PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 7.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1574.

Selections.

AN ABOLITION MEETING BROKEN UP BY A MOB.

The radical Abolitionists of this place attempted to hold a meeting at the Free Church, on Saturday night last, but were prevented by a mob.

Parker Pillsbury, of Boston, was relied upon as the principal speaker, though there were others who were expected to participate in the discussion.

For days prior to the day appointed for the Convention, we had noticed portions of an outbreak at the approaching meeting, and we feared just such a result as has disgraced the city, and all the persons engaged in it.

We have no more sympathy with Pillsbury and his co-laborers, than we have with Wigfall, Toussaint, Garrison, or the Democratic party, for they are all of a piece, disunionists of the blackest character.

The Democratic party have well nigh ruined the nation, and Wigfall, Toussaint, Garrison, Pillsbury, Douglas, Buchanan, and the Free Press, with the smaller fry of the party, are now seeking to put the finishing touch upon their work of destruction.

Such sentiments as Pillsbury and his school advocate are subversive of all order and law, and such sentiments and acts as the Democratic party have put forth are subversive of the real principles upon which our government is based.

We hold that when mobs are allowed to do as they please, they are allowed to do as they please, and when the law is set at defiance, it is time for every man to fill his pockets with six shooters, and become a law to himself.

We hold that no man has a moral right to utter treasonable sentiments against his country. Though he may not subject himself to the penalty due to traitors, yet he does subject himself to the ridicule and contempt of his countrymen; and as there is no law to punish such men for their disunion sentiments thus uttered, we believe in minding our own business, and severely letting them alone.

The occurrence in our city has disgraced us beyond measure. We are yet present at the place of meeting, but we learn that some bones as well as windows, doors, seats, &c., were broken.

We saw one little chap very much excited; he judged that the little fellow had been bitten by a rat, or some other small animal. He leaped and danced about as though he thought that if the Almighty had only given our country a few more such specimens of Lilliputian dimensions, intellectually and physically, the world would never need another Washington.

The whole thing was wrong. We advised Mr. Pillsbury, Glazier and others not to attempt to hold the meeting; and if the authorities had interfered and prevented the holding of the meeting for the promulgation of disunion sentiments, the result would have been far less disgraceful, and there would be no need of this broken-down, shattered building.

The holding of such a meeting, we urged upon these gentlemen, could do no good, though there should be no demonstrations of hostility, and it was impossible for us to see any good reason why those gentlemen, intelligent as they are, moral and quiet citizens as all know them to be, should be holding such a meeting, in view of the fact that no good could possibly arise from it. But mob violence is always to be condemned, even when the law is violated.

What words, then, should be employed to express the profound contempt in which the community should hold the aiders and abettors of the mob of Saturday night?

Pillsbury violated no law; and though we look upon him as a traitor to his country in spirit, yet he does not stand before the country as a criminal; and if he did, no man or men would have a right to lay hands on him.

Mayor Barry was called upon to quell the riot, but when proceeding to the scene of bloodshed for that purpose, he was informed that the crowd had dispersed.

We learn that Mr. Pillsbury had a respectable house on Sunday, and that the meeting was well attended, and no violence attempted.—*Michigan State News, Ann Arbor, Jan. 29th.*

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The following correspondence, in relation to the Anti-Slavery Convention in Syracuse, passed between the Mayor and Rev. Mr. May, previous to the holding of their Convention:—

LETTER FROM MAYOR WESTCOTT TO REV. MR. MAY.

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
SYRACUSE, (N. Y.) Jan. 26, 1861.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY: Dear Sir,—I herewith transmit to you, and through you to others taking part in the Anti-Slavery Convention about to be held in this city, a request or petition from many of our citizens, that you will at once postpone said Convention, for reasons stated in said petition.

Although I have not signed this document, yet I fully concur in the sentiments and arguments therein set forth. There is an intention, if not a settled determination, on the part of sundry reckless and irresponsible persons, to interfere with the proceedings of this Convention, there is in my mind no longer any doubt, and with what result it is difficult to say. In your judgment, and in the judgment of your coadjutors, these reasons are such as to determine you to comply with the prayer of the petitioners, I have no hesitation in saying, that such a decision would not only be judicious, but would meet the approbation of our citizens almost universally.

Very respectfully,
A. WESTCOTT, Mayor.

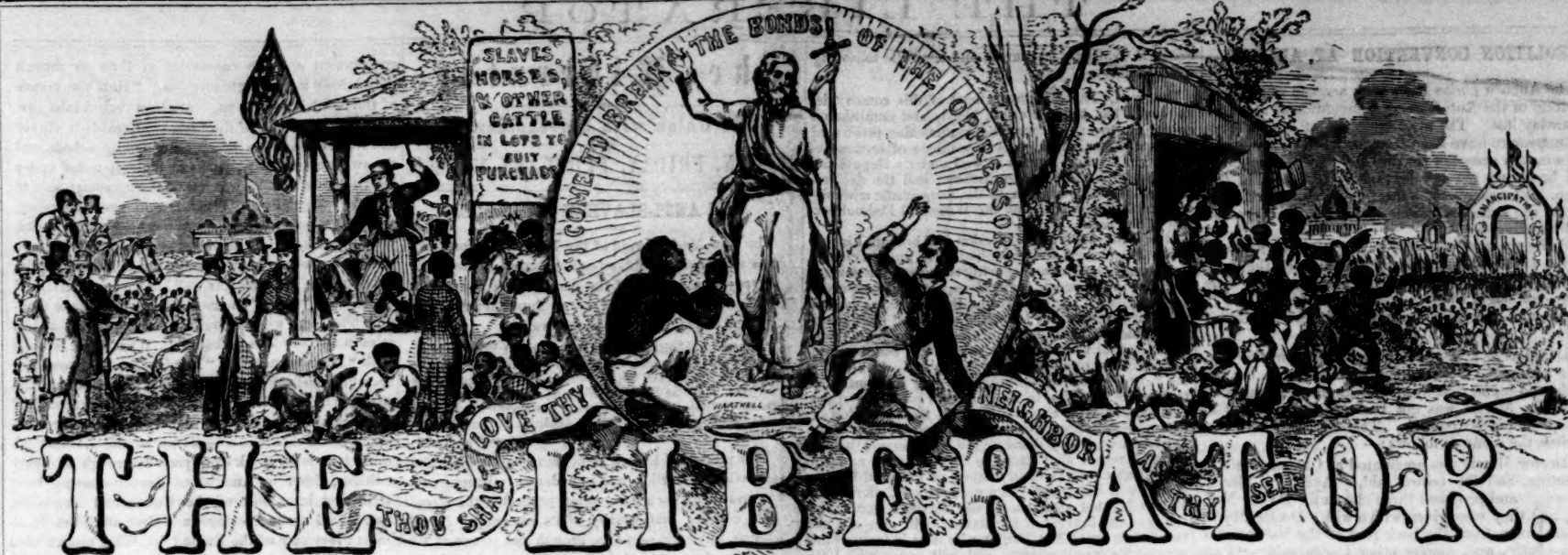
A COMMUNICATION TO REV. MR. MAY FROM SAMUEL J. MAY.

Sir,—The undersigned, your fellow-citizens of the city of Syracuse, are advised that an Abolition Convention is to be convened here on Tuesday and Wednesday next week.

It may safely be assumed that you take a prominent position in this movement.

The present excited condition of the public mind, on the great question of Union or disunion, we beg leave to suggest to you, and to your associates, the propriety of avoiding any new cause of agitation or complaint.

We affirm now and ever, under the guarantees of the Constitution, the entire liberty of speech to every American citizen. We affirm, moreover, that our duties as citizens would require us to aid in ex-



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

tending protection to your Convention, in the exercise of the rights which all deliberative bodies may claim; but we still believe that public peace and the good of the whole country demand of us at this time forbearance and moderation.

We are no disunionists. On the other hand, we cheerfully recognize the superior blessings which the American Union has secured to our country, and the important influence which it has exerted upon the civilized world.

With you we regard the existence of slavery among us as a great moral, political and social evil, the extension of which, beyond the limits where it is recognized by the Constitution, is to be resisted by every means consistent with the integrity of the States, and the maintenance of public order; but we can see no promise of good in the measures of the Convention you propose to hold.

You cannot expect to change the sentiment of the North upon the subject of slavery, for that is almost unanimous; and if your object be to convince the public that our Southern friends are united to a constitutional protection, we cannot but regard it as giving just cause of offence, as tending to excite a disturbance of the public peace, and to forward the efforts of the Southern States to dismember the Confederacy.

We sincerely trust you will deem it proper to exert your influence to prevent the assembling of a Convention, which can now be productive only of evil.

In conclusion we may add, that we are credibly informed that an organized and forcible effort will be made to prevent the holding of your Convention, and we fear a collision between the police force of the city and a lawless mob.

THOS. T. DAVIS, JOHN WILKINSON, HIRSH PUTNAM, O. T. BERT, J. M. DOLPHIN, J. W. G. TRUAIL, LYMAN CLARY, ALANSON THORP, T. B. FITCH.

WM. E. ABBOTT, E. W. LEVENWORTH, E. B. WICKS, D. P. PHILLIPS, ISRAEL S. SPENCER, H. W. SLOCUM, J. G. K. TRUAIL, MOSES SUMMERS, W. BROWN SMITH, H. D. HATCH.

REV. MR. MAY'S REPLY.

SYRACUSE, Jan. 28, 1861, 1455 P. M.

GENTLEMEN,—Your communication requesting me to exert my influence to prevent the assembling of the Anti-Slavery Convention, called to meet on the 29th and 30th, came to hand at 12.4 to 12.

The Committee of Arrangements have not yet come to the city; and I have no authority to postpone the Convention on their behalf. They may not arrive until this evening or to-morrow morning. Meanwhile, there is not time for me to see enough of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, residing in Syracuse, to sustain me in assuming the responsibility of preventing the meeting for the reasons you assign.

In common with my associates, I am very sincere in believing, that the principles we inculcate, and the measures we advise, are the only ones that can extricate our country from the rot of that evil which now overshadows us, and threatens our ruin as a nation. We have much to say to the people—much that we deem it most important that they should hear and ponder, lest they bow themselves to another compromise with the slaveholding oligarchy, which, for the last twenty-five years, has ruled our Republic, and which nothing would satisfy but the entire subjugation of our liberties to their peculiar institution.

We perceive that the "strong" men of the Republican party are trembling, and concession and compromise are coming to their only hope. We deprecate their fears—their want of confidence in moral principle and God. We do not consider the reunion of our divided States so much consequence as we do a steadfast adherence to the true and the right. We therefore feel deeply urged to cry aloud, and warn the people of the snare into which politicians and statesmen would lead them. We should, at least, offer to speak, whether the people will hear, or whether they will forbear.

If gentlemen, you had assumed me that our proposed meeting will be violently assailed; that those who may assemble peacefully to listen to us, will not be allowed to hear us; that they will be dispersed with insult, if not with personal injury; and that you—gentlemen of influence as you are—shall stand aloof, and let the violent have their way—then I should have felt it to be incumbent on me to advise the friends of Liberty and Humanity, that it would not be worth their while to convene, as it would be dispersed.

But, gentlemen, as you generously "affirm" in the letter before me, "that your duty as citizens would require you to aid in extending protection to your Convention, in case it shall be convened, in the exercise of all the rights which all deliberative bodies may claim,"—and as the Mayor of our city has assured me that "he shall fearlessly use every means at his command to secure order, and to prevent any interference with our proceedings,"—I feel that I should not be justified in assuming the responsibility of postponing the Convention. For, gentlemen, if you will do what you acknowledge to be your duty, and if the Mayor will fulfill his generous promise, I should have felt it to be incumbent on me to advise the friends of Liberty and Humanity, that it would not be worth their while to convene, as it would be dispersed.

Whereas, Our glorious Confederacy is crumbling to pieces, and civil war is staring us in the face; and the chief cause thereof has emanated from unscrupulous Abolitionists at the North, who for years past have been preaching and practicing against the United States Government, and malignantly denouncing the constitutional institutions of the South, and branding our Southern brethren as pirates, instead of cultivating with them the friendships and brotherly love;—and

Whereas, Syracuse has long been the rendezvous of Jerry Rescue traitors, headed by Fred Douglass, and the depot of the Underground Railroad, marshaled by George Logan;—and

Whereas, Our city has often been disgraced by treasonable meetings, instituted by these dangerous men, and their followers, in which meetings plots have been formed for sowing seeds of Abolitionism and Disunionism abroad, which, in common with the action of other Abolition meetings held at the North, gave rise to the bloody raid at Harper's Ferry;—therefore, be it

Resolved, That we brand all such persons as fanatical rebels, disloyal to the American flag, the Constitution, the Union, and the Laws; and we believe them unworthy of a country which cherishes and reveres the memory of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Webster and Clay, and that they should not be allowed to hold unsanctioned meetings in our midst.

Resolved, That as this Government was founded upon compromises with our Southern brethren, it is but right and proper that, in order to dispel the dark clouds which hang over our distracted country, and to restore the bright galaxy of stars to its former beauty and splendor, we should ourselves, as the only measures yet presented which will have the desired effect of saving the Union, and restoring once more the bonds of brotherly love between the different sections of the land.

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measure, imperatively demanded by the exigencies of the times, and made necessary by a due regard to national safety and

ratify the deed by acclamation as a wise and patriotic measure, imperatively demanded by the exigencies of the times, and made necessary by the exigencies of national safety and prosperity! This the South intelligently understands; and therefore the holders of her acts, and her assurance that, in case of a struggle with the Federal government,—especially after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln,—she can kindle the flames of civil war from the Eastern boundary to the Western prairies. Did not Mr. Caleb Cushing make a bloody prophecy of this kind, months ago, in Faneuil Hall, and was it not vociferously repeated?

In this extraordinary combination of trying circumstances, where stands the victorious Republican party? Its fugleman, Mr. Seward, is smitten with idleness, and denies the "irrepressible conflict," avows his belief that a perfect reconciliation can be effected between

by a fresh compromise, sees not why fire and gun powder in contact need make an explosion, and cries "Peace, peace, when there is no peace"—and can none while a slave is left in his chains. Mr. Charles Francis Adams "romps like a sucking-dove," and sarcastically declares that the Personal Liberty Laws, being of no practical value, may be properly repealed to avoid irritation, and that New Mexico is a "hot" country.

score of slaves, may be admitted into the Union as a free State, without any detriment to the cause of freedom. Mr. Corwin (who seems to be destitute of a moral sense) goes for the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law to the letter—for any kind of compromise that will propitiate the Southern rebels—and for restricting the freedom of the press, in opposition to slavery.

line and imprisonment! He is as bad as the worst of them, and a disgrace to Ohio. It is such men who are the public virtue, and strike at the foundation of civil liberty. He ought to be drummed out of the Republic and camp to the tune of the "Rogue's march." In every direction, with noble exceptions, the party faltering, and exhibiting signs of general demoralization, through the bullying, cunning and clamor of political opponents, who have the sense to see that

the ascendancy. Had it stood resolutely upon platform, and indignantly turned upon

the ascendancy. Had it stood resolutely upon platform, and indignantly turned a deaf ear to overtures to compromise its principles and betray cause of liberty, it would have gathered fresh strength and added greatly to its numbers. It is much to credit of Mr. Lincoln, that he has maintained his dignity and self-respect intact, and gives no countenance to any of the compromises that have yet been

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

The Union formed in 1789 is at last dissolved through the secession, without cause, of six of the slave States, the complicity of the remainder, and the imbecility and perfidy of President Buchanan. These six States

"NO UNION WITH SLAVERHOLDERS!"

The Union formed in 1789 is at last dissolved through the secession, without cause, of six of the slave States, the complicity of the remainder, and the inability of President Buchanan. These six States have organized themselves into a Southern Confederacy, and unanimously elected Jefferson Davis, Mississippi, President, and Alexander H. Stephens, Georgia, Vice President. All this has been done, repeat, without cause. It is an act purely financial, and entirely treacherable. The Constitution remains unchanged in its letter and spirit; the laws of Congress remain in full force. The Southern States, in conformity thereto, are everywhere at the North observed in good faith; no violence has been attempted toward the South. The Executive and

are not yet in power, and therefore have had no opportunity to vindicate the integrity of the Union, and to preserve the Constitution, adversely to the rights or interests of the South, on no justifiable pretence whatever any slave State withdraw from the Union. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Suspicion of a perfidy in one direction is no excuse for open treason in another. The loyalty of the Republican party is

are not yet in power, and therefore have had no opportunity to show their sincerity and their respect for the integrity. Until they undertake to set the example of the Constitution, adversely to the rights or interests of the South, on no justifiable pretence have we any slave State withdrawn from the Union. So long as we are united, the day is the evil thereof." Suspicious of the perfidy in one direction is no excuse for open treachery in another. The loyalty of the Republican party to the Union, as understood and upheld by Washington and Jefferson, admits of no impeachment. They always scrupled of conscience to prevent their fellow-citizens from all its conditions, and during the late Presidential campaign were more zealous in its laudation than their opponents. The platform adopted by them at Chicago proposes no change in the Fugitive Slave Law, nor interference with the *Inter-State Slave trade*, nor any

tion of slavery in the District of Columbia; and did, the party would have the constitutional right to take such action. No law of Congress is beyond modification or repeal by the same body; the power of Congress over the District of Columbia is absolute and for the slavery and slave code existing in that District, no particular State, but the whole country is responsible; the domestic slave traffic may be not only suppressed, but even totally abolished.

tion of slavery in the District of Columbia; and if, did, the party would have the constitutional right to take such action. No law of Congress is beyond revocation or repeal by the same body; the Constitution of Congress over the District of Columbia is absolute and for the slavery and slave code existing in that District, no particular State, but the whole country responsible; the domestic slave traffic may be regulated or suppressed, like any other traffic, by the authority conceded to Congress by the Constitution. But the Republican platform carefully and intentionally ignores all these issues; and to show that it entertains no design or wish to interfere with slavery at the South, it expressly declares "that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially of the right of self-government, in the local institutions of the South, is essential to the preservation of the right of each State to order and to control its own domestic institutions."

ITS OWN DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS according to its judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends." At no time has any member of the Republican party, in either House of Congress, made, or thought of making, any proposition for exercise by that body of any power with reference to slavery in any slave State. Throughout the late

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of the Republican party, in either House of Congress, or thought of making, any proposition for exercise by that body of any power with reference to slavery in any slave State. Throughout the campaign, disclaimers were constantly made by its leaders of the existence of such a right; and the constitutional limitation of Congress to the subject, particularly in the old Whig and Democratic parties, and endorsed by the whole people after the formation of the Constitution, most scrupulously and accurately defined. Mr. Lincoln honestly and truly represents the platform of his party—a platform which not a sentiment is to be found, having a relation to slavery, contrary to the views entertained by all political parties twenty years ago. It is not that the Republican party is guilty of any aggression, or intermeddling, any way wadward or unjust;

The charge against the Abolitionists, that they for interfering with slavery by the Federal Government, is equally

"In my opinion, the domestic slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the whole North. Congress has no authority to interfere with the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States. The imputations which you say are made on the North are entirely unfounded."

"In my opinion, the domestic slavery of the United States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and this, I am sure, is the opinion of every man who is entitled to authority to interfere in the emancipation of slave, or in the treatment of slaves in any of the States. The impositions which are made upon the States, by Congress, in this respect, are, as I say truly, are constantly made against the States, and, in my opinion, entirely unjust to any just foundation."

Commenting upon this letter, the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society said:

"Mr. Webster's opinion on the subject of slavery in the States of this Union, so far as expressed, is, that the States have been more than once avowed to be the sole proprietors in the matter, and every individual slaveholder has been made to feel that he is a subject within the control of his own States themselves."

Endorsing the letter of Mr. Webster, we said in
Liberator—

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gand, the constitutional powers of Congress, as do as
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Endorsing the letter of Mr. Webster, we said in *Liberator*—

"Abolitionists as clearly understood, and as necessarily guard, the constitutional powers of Congress, so as to prevent any encroachment, they know, and have again and again asserted, that Congress has no more rightful authority to interpose in judgment upon Southern slavery, than it has to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the free States of the Union."

In the Declaration of Sentiments, drawn up by the Convention, and adopted by the National Anti-Slavery Convention at Philadelphia in 1838, it is declared—

"We freely and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery, and every which is tolerated within its limits, we consider as a matter of course, that Congress has no right to interfere with any of the States in relation to this subject."

—American Anti-Slavery

"While it admits that each State in which slavery has, by the Constitution of the United States, the right to legislate in regard to its abolition, it shall convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous sin against God."

The Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as adopted at that time, declared—

"While it admits that each State in which slavery exists, by the Constitution of the United States, and the right to legislate in regard to its abolition, it shall endeavor to convince all its fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that abolishing it is a heinous sin against God."

This states the position and object of the Society with religious fidelity. Its mission was, and is, purely moral one, being an appeal to the understanding

measure, imperatively demanded by a wise and patriotic statesman, and made necessary by the exigencies of national safety and prosperity? This South the North intelligently understands; and there are no better men than her agents, and her assurance that, in case of a struggle with the Federal Government,—especially after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln,—she can kindle the flames of civil war from the Eastern boundary to the Western prairies. Did not Mr. Calhoun make such a bloody prophecy of this kind, months ago, in Faneuil Hall, and was it not vociferously applauded?

In this extraordinary combination of trying circumstances, where stands the victorious Republican? His fugleman, Mr. Seward, is smitten with lightning, and pronounces the "irrepressible conflict," avows his belief in a perfect reconciliation can be effected between the Union and Secession, and it is not difficult to "circumvent God" by a fresh compromise, now see not why firm and powerful contact need make an explosion, and even none while a slave is left in his chains. "God can't break Francis Adams' crown like a sucking-love," and accordingly of no practical value, he may be properly regarded as irritating, and that of Mexico, having secured scores of slaves, may be admitted into the United States, without any detriment to the cause of freedom.

Mr. Corwin (who seems to be the cause of the "lawless") goes far for the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law to the letter—for any kind of compromise that will propitiate the Southern rebels—and for restriction of the freedom of the press, in opposition to slavery, fine and imprisonment! He is as bad as the slaveholder, and a disgrace to Ohio. It is such mud-slinging and public virtue, and strike at the foundation of civil liberty. He ought to be drummed out of the Republic, or can camp to the tune of the "Rogue's march." In every direction, with noble exceptions, the party filtering, and exhibiting signs of general demoralization, through the bullying, cunning and cowardly political agencies, who hope thus once more to gain the ascendancy. Had it stood resolutely upon its platform, and indignantly turned a deaf ear to all overtures to compromise its principles and betray its cause of liberty, it would have gathered fresh recruits and added greatly to its numbers. It is much to the credit of Mr. Lincoln, that he has maintained the unity and self-respect intact, and gives no countenance to any of the compromises that have yet been proposed.

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"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

The Union formed in 1789 is at last dissolved through the secession, without fault, of six of the slave States, the simplicity of the remainder, and the inability of the perfidy of President Buchanan. These six States have organized themselves into Jeffersonian Democracy, and unanimously elected Southern Davis, Mississippi, President, and Alexander H. Stephens Georgia, Vice President. All this has been done, repeat, without cause. It is an act purely felonious and flagrantly treasonable. The Constitution remains unchanged in its letter and spirit; the laws of Congress in conformity thereto, are everywhere as they were observed in good faith; no violence has been done, nor attempted toward the South. The Republicans are not yet in power, and therefore have had no part of their integrity. Unto they undertake to set aside the Constitution, adversely to the rights or interests of the South, on no justifiable pretence whatever, unless any slave State withdraw from the Union. "So long as the Union is one is the evil thereof." Suspicion of the perfidy in one direction is no excuse for open treachery another. The loyalty of the Republican party to Union, as understood and upheld by Washington and Jefferson, admits of no impeachment. They allow no scruples of conscience to prevent their fulfillment of all its conditions, and during the late Presidential campaign were more zealous in its laudation than its opponents. The platform adopted by them at Chicago, in accordance with the later-State District trade, no violation of slavery in the District of Columbia; and said, the party would have the constitutional right to take such action. No vote of Congress is beyond objection or reproach, by the majority; no law enacted by the District of Columbia could exist in the District, no particular State, but the whole country responsible; the domestic slave traffic may be regulated or suppressed, like any other traffic, by authority conferred to Congress by the Constitution. But the Republican platform carefully and intentionally ignores all these issues; and to show that it entertains no design or wish to interfere with slavery at the South, it expressly declares "that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO ORDER AND ENFORCE ITS OWN DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS according to its judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends." At no time has any member of the Republican party, in either House of Congress, made, or thought of making, any proposition for exercise by that body of any power with reference to slavery in any State. Throughout the late campaign, disclaimers were constantly made by the party and its leaders of the existence of any such right, and the constitutional limitations on this subject, perfectly understood by the old Whig and Democratic parties, and endorsed by the whole people ever since formation of the Constitution, were scrupulously and accurately defined. Mr. Lincoln himself repeatedly represented the platform to be found, having a relation to slavery, contrary to the views entertained by all political parties twenty years ago. It is that the Republican party is guilty of any aggression or intermeddling, any waywardness or injustice; the South has wholly changed its former position, insists upon undreamed of subversivity in its political dictation.

The charge against the Abolitionists, that they are interfering with slavery by the Federal Government, or by congressional enactment, is equally untrue and malicious. Daniel Webster, in a letter to E. B. Eaton, Esq., of Savannah, writes—

"In my opinion, the domestic slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the whole Nation. Congress has no authority to interfere with it, and it is not a subject of discussion in any of the States. The impetuous youth who say so, are very truly, are constantly made against the South, in my opinion, entirely mistaken of their just foundations."

Commenting upon this letter, the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society said—

"Mr. Webster's opinion on the subject of slavery in the Southern States is of great importance, in the light of the fact that those who are accused in early Anti-Slavery papers in the country—that it is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves."

Endorsing the letter of Mr. Webster, we add in the Liberator—

"Abolitionists as clearly understood, and as necessarily guard, the constitutional powers of Congress, as do the slaveholders, and they know, and have again and again asserted, that Congress has no more right to interfere with the slaveholding power of the States, than it has to sit in judgment upon Southern slavery itself. And yet they insist for the abolition of slavery, under the name of non-interference."

In the Declaration of Sentiments drawn up by us, and adopted by the National Anti-Slavery Convention at Philadelphia in 1833, it is declared—

"We freely and unanimously recognize the several powers of Congress, and we explicitly on the severest every which is tolerated within its limits; we affirm that Congress has no right to interfere with any of the States in relation to this subject."

The Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as adopted at that time, declared—

"While it admits that each State in which slavery exists, has, by its representatives in Congress, the sole right to legislate in regard to its abolition, it nevertheless convinces all our fellow-constituents, that abridging their understandings and consciences, that abridging their rights against them."

This states the position and object of the Society with religious fidelity. Its mission was, and is, purely moral one, being an appeal to the universal

[illegible]

BY FRANKLIN.

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his successor. Price, 2 cents single, \$1 per 100.
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the stamp enclosed.

25. 15. 31

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

"THE RAVEN."

With a heavy sorrow at my heart, I closed my chamber door.
And the mocking raven over it was crying, "Nevermore!"
I did not see the moonlight that was streaming in my room,
For every where around me was the shadow of my gloom;
And the fragrant breath of blossoms, that the soft breeze wafted in,
Told only to my aching heart what happiness had been.
A wall came on the wind—I thought, was it some lone night bird?
I bent my ear—the distant sound was a whippoorwill I heard—
Bird of the summer night, I said, how sweet thy song before!
Oh, heavy fell upon my heart that hopeless "Nevermore!"
Up by the calm moon shining clear, a bright cloud caught my sight,
So rich and grand it floated there, like spirit seeking light;
How longingly I watched that cloud, and through that lone, long night
I struggled with my dark despair—I too would seek the light!
And nearer, nearer, unto God a brilliant morning broke—
I saw how grand it was to live a fresh new life awake;
Then by the golden sunlight, that was streaming in my room,
I knew that mocking raven was the shadow of my gloom.

For the Liberator.

DE TRUE.

The conflict rages—let us stand
Firmly for the true and right;
Heart to heart, and hand to hand,
Dare defy Oppression's might.
See your suffering brethren, see,
Bleeding in the tyrant's chain;
He pleads his cause with you and me—
Must he, shall he, plead in vain?
Hear him! let the faint of love
Gush toward your brother man;
Hear him, by that God above!
Hear, and help him all you can!
Are you truthful? are you men?
Have you pity in your breast?
Are you fathers, brothers? then
Go and succor the oppressed!
Darker not the true and good
For gold—secured Mammon's dole!
Dead not in man's flesh and blood;
Darker not the human soul!
God is with us—dare advance!
Most Oppression's crime—suffered powers!
Right our shield, and Truth our lance,
Press on! the triumph shall be ours!
Andover, Mass. RICHARD HINCHCLIFFE.

For the Liberator.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.

How I would love that streaming flag,
If it were not a trap, a drag,
Of which the worst of tyrants brag!
They say it shelters in its folds
The men who live on murdered souls,
And vote for freedom at the polls.
So says the judge, in wisdom gray;
So say the ministers who pray;
I don't believe a word they say.
But if the people love it so,
I have no power to answer no,
Except the little vote I throw.
And though my votes but little tell,
That little serves my conscience well,
Till Heaven the endless anthem swell.
Chicago. MOUNTAIN BOY.

From the Chicago Tribune.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

By J. W. TEMPLE.

There's a mighty new-born nation,
Sprung to life and power and station,
Just by seizing the occasion
Of a triumph in the North:
And they're tripping in indignation,
From our poor Confederation,
With our "black amalgamation,"
Abolition, and so forth.
And they've snatched their Uncle Sam,
Called that potato a sham, sir,
Sawed they didn't care a d—n, sir,
For his little paucy arm.
They could whip him even-handed,
But if he were they'd demand,
Foreign troops would soon be landed,
Lest their Cotton come to harm.
That Great Britain, France and Russia,
Holland, Germany and Prussia,
With blood, sweat and war and cruiser,
To King Cotton's aid would rally.
That our ports they would blockade, sir,
And our hated land invade, sir,
In a second grand crusade, sir,
To set free the Cotton-Dale!
And they're mighty, too, in figures,
Boast four hundred thousand "niggers,"
And they talk of pulling triggers,
Storming forts, and marching North—
And if Lincoln, when they hated,
Comes to be inaugurated,
That his doom is sealed and dated
From the coming March the fourth.
So we warn each Northern coward,
You are soon to be deceived
By these ogres from the Southward,
Led by Kees and Rheet, and Wise;
So you'd best go in for "fusion,"
And amend the Constitution,
Bew before the Revolution,
And seek favor in their eyes.
You must let them have their sir,
Whip their slaves at Bunker Hill, sir,
Carry slavery where they will, sir—
Swear that slavery is right;
You must change public opinion,
And throughout our whole dominion
You must hoot and gag and jeer
All who speak in its despite.
You must take off the embargo—
Bring in niggers by the cargo,
(Just as far as we will dare go)
Lest the British Lion roar—
Cuba you must buy, or take her,
Coxs old Spain to sell, or make her—
And for Mexico, we'll take her,
Gaining slave States three or four.
If you'll do all this, "poor devil,"
And be humble, meek and civil,
Though the Union is an evil,
They'll stay in it for a spell;
Only, they should have the plunder,
Otherwise, I shouldn't wonder,
Every four years you'll hear thunder,
And "the Union sent to—!"

* Keitt's name for every Northern Republican.

† From a secession speech at Norfolk, Va.

VICTORIA, (ILL.) Jan. 1861.

HOPE ON.

Hope on, oh weary and despairing mortals!
I tell you that the world is not all gloom—
That there is sunshine for each day that dawns
Upon our lives from birth to death, and to the tomb.
And with them to the earth he never bowed;
Remember ever there's a silver lining
And golden glories to each gloomy cloud.
If 't were not for the night, no stars we'd see,
So upward look toward heaven hopefully.

The Liberator.

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY

SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH.

The families who entertained in Boston the friends of the great national and universal cause of Freedom, on the evening of the 23d of January, cordially thank those honored and beloved guests; not only those then present, but no less warmly and gratefully such as greeted them by letter and subscription from other States and lands.

These are they to whose cooperation it is owing that Boston has, throughout the world, the reputation and the moral power of an anti-slavery city.

With an ill-organized police and an incompetent city magistracy,—the result of previous slaveholding manipulation,—having among her hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants, a thousand or two of ill-bred and ignorant traders and manufacturers of slave products, who are rich enough to hire about an equal number of day-laborers no less ignorant and selfish,—Boston has been temporarily disgraced by their riotous breach of all law and order. This is the but the customary spoliation of slaveholders upon their Northern servants, whenever they can take advantage of the rage of pecuniary loss and the mortification of political defeat, to instigate outrages against the peace and rights of the free people of the North.

All these disgraceful nuisances will come to an end with the present revolutionary period, when the slaveholding States shall have withdrawn their disturbing element. The cause of riot, violence and imperialism will then be as clearly seen by all the rest of the world as by South Carolina. From the earliest anti-slavery days, it has been the habit of slaveholding merchants and politicians to send circulars to their selfish and ignorant correspondents at the North, earnestly enjoining on them to take this sort of action; and the account in the Charleston *Mercury*, of the way in which the 29th annual meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was assailed by a mob under the control of a Mayor, was headed, "SLAVERY IN BOSTON."

The Anti-Slavery Assembly, on the 23d of January, were inspired with the glad consciousness that their lives had absolved them from any taint of moral complicity in the impending disgrace of the city of Boston. They had constantly exposed the schemes of the Southern tyranny to enslave the free States, and subvert them to the same terror that reigns in slave-land; and they have received an ample recompense in that renovation of the public mind, so clearly discerned by the Southern leaders of secession. They have never ceased to point out in the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, the

That makes the reason prisoner.

They have constantly claimed of their fellow-countrymen that no such agreement with wrong should be perpetuated. Clearer of vision than their deceived forefathers, they early resolved for themselves that they, at least, would let a bad example die.

This satisfaction in their well-spent past brought the friends of freedom together, agreeably to long previous invitation, in unexampled numbers and spirits. It was estimated that upwards of three thousand guests called during the day and evening, to pay their respects and their subscriptions to the cause, to interchange congratulations, to devise plans for more efficient co-operation, and to enjoy the festive hospitality of the Anniversary.

The threat of riot, with the danger to life and property from municipal corruption and State suppression, though it awakened indignation pity for the poor creatures of slavery about to engage in it, did not in the least check the gaiety or the liberality of the occasion. Perhaps it stimulated both, to think of this new sort of political demonstration of loyalty to the Slave Power, executed by the small defeated party of Bell and Everett, as a last despairing effort. The Slave Power thinks of it with contempt and derision, and thanks no one for breaking owners by obeying orders. The amount received on this occasion was about

\$5,500.

a sum entirely unexpected,—since every pecuniary pressure which slavery brings upon the country is felt by the friends of the cause, as well as by its enemies. The difference between the two classes is this,—the former have, through life, rejoiced to make their own petty interests the stepping-stones to public good.

The time of that great deliverance for which we have wrought so long, appears to be at hand. If it be not so, it is merely because more work yet remains to be done to inform and strengthen the awakened public heart against slavery; and since fresh hosts are now claiming the privilege that it has heretofore been ours to exercise alone, the final extinction of slavery on this continent is sure. Not only are the Northern millions to be free from their guilty complicity with slavery, but State after State of the Southern Confederacy will learn from events what counsel and warning have been sent in vain to teach, that the four millions of slaves are men and brothers, and can no longer be overlooked in the settlement of public affairs. Events are every where teaching the people how deadly is that curse of curses—slavery; how fatal to the existence of nations, and to the welfare of men. Free Americans are learning what their consciences political cry of "Compromise" signifies to their debased tyrants and to the world. It means, not what they have blindly imagined, wealth, and strength, and length of days for themselves, and for their children yet more abundantly, but the free States for the slaveholder's hunting-ground; freedom to couple up with his bloodhounds; violence in every city; spies of the government Slave Power in every rural neighborhood; insult and danger to every domestic hearth; blood on every threshold; cowed Legislatures; corrupted Judiciary; the Church a profligate; the State a slave-catching despotism, deprived of the cohesion of human feeling and human intellect, crumbling into mean barbaric dust, upon the heads of them that cried "Compromise," when they should have cried, "Freedom!"

"What constitutes a State?" More than any thing else, the self-consciousness and self-possession implied in the refusal to violate the laws of hospitality and the dictates of humanity. To refuse to be ridden over rough-shod by the hunters for slaves and refugees, is the statesman's way of meeting invasion; and thus do all high-minded men

—defeat the long aimed blow,

And smite the tyrant while they rend the chain."

What makes the Swiss a people?—and England a nation?—and Christendom the synonym of civilization? The shelter they give to the political fugitive, and their law which only the Americans have infringed.—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the slave that has escaped from his master unto thee!" And that infringement has made of these conflicting States a hissing and a by-word, as it dashes them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

Not only this sacred right of asylum at the North,

but the homes of unborn generations in yet unborn lands have been demanded of the North for the perpetration of slavery. And yet it is an established fact of statesmanship, that any government which, by its own free will, were to make such a surrender, would be deservedly and universally stigmatized as degraded and dishonored. Woe, then, to the statesman whom the people are obliged to displace, when he gives them up to degradation, at the demand of a bloody and unscrupulous tyranny! His best hope in such a case must be to sink into a forgotten grave,—for his name shall be remembered only with shame and everlasting contempt.

All that is now needed is energy to cast out slavery

by the refusal to compromise. Then are the free States saved,—ultimately to become the means of saving the slave States too. Whatever border State (and they will all become border States in turn) shall desire to abolish its slavery, can, after having done

it, join the free States;—with whatever help of loans and advances the transition may require from Northern freemen. No compensation—no indemnity; nothing that can be cited as an acknowledgment of property in man. But aid, help, succor, the North is bound, by past complicity, to give; were the result to be a loss, instead of incalculable gain and prosperity.

However all these things may work themselves clear, as with or without assistance of politicians, they are sure at length to do by mere moral preponderance, the generous and the just—the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society—only to have gone on claiming the abolition of slavery, as they have begun. The new shapes the States may take are of no consequence to us. We deal with nature, and not with lines and boundaries; we deal with the human head and heart, and not with its Church or State contrivances.

"A breath unmake them, as a breath has made;"

and we immeasurably prefer the present anxious and inquiring state of the American mind, to the selfish apathy and vain-glory in laying up money, the have hitherto absorbed every sentiment that honors human nature and secures human welfare. More grateful are we now than for all the past unexampled wealth and prosperity, to see our country face to face with the lesson so precious to equality, that nothing but freedom, rectitude and equal justice can bind men together in civilized and progressive communities.

Slavery is of the dark ages: honor and hope and cheer to every man engaged in beating it down, in whatever shape or under whatever name!

No matter what his partisan war-cry, no matter what his theological creed, no matter of what race or clime, no matter what the date of his awakening,—him we hail as a brother. He refuses to sacrifice the rights of the eternal future by compromise with slavery. He scorns to submit to the shameful destiny prepared for him by the Slave Power, and he finds himself assailed by the brutal selfishness that slavery would make permanent in the American heart. Him, and all such true patriots and statesmen, we meet with confidence and joy, asking and receiving all the help in our common cause that each can consistently afford. Invaluable, indispensable to the true statesman is cooperation like that of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, unmingled with wrath, or doubt, or fear.

With solemn thoughts like these, our festival began. It would be profitable, if time and space permitted, to note down the conversation that followed.

"What necessity do these meetings?" said a novice to one of the old guard. "They only give this thousand or two of a defeated party, which appears today as a Washington Union Committee, and the next as a Union meeting in Faneuil Hall, the chance to appear once more in the streets as a mob, under the delusion that change of form will disguise their insignificance to the ready-to-halt, the feeble-minded, and the much-afraid, that infest public life in seats of government. You cannot, expressing the one or two of you whom they threaten with assassination, even claim the credit of courage in what you do, under the forcible-freeness of a city government that insults the slaveholder by public acknowledgment of your legal rights; the very rights it is engaged in violating."

"All this has much show of reason, but does not apply to the case in hand; for none of these meetings were special, but all of long previous appointment. The attempt to hinder them is an argument for their necessity. For a lifetime, the abolitionists have been heard, and are busier now in watching what comes of it, than in going out of their way to stop more."

But this meeting was appointed twenty-nine years ago, before you, kind youth, were born; and so great an accumulation of interest and effort does not admit of postponement. It is not like a mushroom meeting of yesterday's contrivance. Even if it were, it must be heard for its cause. Do you remember the high-born fowl—the duck who was a duchess, in Hans Christian Andersen's Story, who advised the killing of the little ugly duck—into the future swan? To which the parent that had fostered it succinctly replied, "That can't be done, your grace!"

From this unchecked interchange of thoughts and plans called free speech, comes the only possibility of sufficient approximation among men to the law of life—the truth—to enable them to live in society together. Stop it, and society—social, civil and religious alike—is extinct: everything begins to crumble. Out of it grows the love of ultimate union."

"We have never yet been the United States," said another friend, reading a letter from the South. "There are the benighted States,—the more northerly slave States; there are the unknights States, where the slave-lynch-code has displaced civility; but free States only can ever be united."

But we must pause: of the free speech of a Soirée there would be no end. The pleasure of opening our anniversary letters was this year of the trust and deepest kind. How much sympathy they expressed! How much cooperation they promised! What encouragement they afforded! Though not written for publication, we venture in some instances to subjoin them, that others may be sharers of the benefit.

This anniversary, so many times made holy to our hearts by death, has just received a fresh consecration. Our beloved friends, SUSAN COLEY CAROT and ABBY FRANCIS, are no more. They have followed the long-remembered dead of former years, the impress of whose characters is so strong on the lives of us who yet remain.—ANN GREENE CHAPMAN, SARAH CHAPMAN, MARY YOUNG, CATHERINE SARGENT, MARIA LOWELL, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN.

These all have lived and died in the service of Freedom, and their example is raising up hundreds to fill their places in the good old cause, so indispensably dear to all generations.

"Let us die the death of the Righteous!"

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

LETTERS.

TO MRS. CHILD.

MONTREAL, Jan. 23, 1861.

I must beg you to forgive the liberty I am taking in thus addressing you. But having no correspondent in Boston, nor any with whom I seemed so well acquainted as yourself, although the acquaintance has been made by correspondence, I thought I could not do better than by sending my letter direct to you, whose name I am so anxious to see in the list of those who receive subscriptions for the Anti-Slavery Society. As a native of one of the Southern States, and also a descendant of that of Massachusetts, I feel an affectionate interest in the fate of the Northern and Southern portions of that great confederation, which lately constituted the United States of America; although, for more than seventy years, I have ceased to reside therein.

I beg you will have the goodness to add to the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society the amount of the enclosed draft, drawn by the Bank of Montreal on the Merchants' Bank of Boston, for Fifty Dollars, which I have endorsed in your favor, and send as my contribution to the Society's funds.

When I conversed with ex-governors of the Southern States, nearly fifty years ago, they expressed great regret at the existence of slavery among them, and earnest hopes and expectations that the day of emancipation would arrive. The change which has taken place is truly lamentable. Perpetration of slavery is now designed! "The sum of all villainies" is to be entrenched! Attempts at assassination, such as the execution of the human race, slaveholders, even within the walls of Congress! Do they wish to bring upon themselves the abhorrence of the whole civilized world, as the enemies of the human race? They will find that abhorrence too strong to be overcome. But we must reserve our pity for those friends of justice who dwell in the slave States, and whose safety requires them to be silent.

I remain, with the sincerest respect and best wishes,

Your obedient servant,

MRS. L. MARIA CHILD.

LETTER FROM THADDEUS HYATT, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) Jan. 23, 1861.

MRS. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN:

My dear Madam—Please accept my thanks for your kind invitation to the gathering of 23d. It seemed, last week, as though I should have the pleasure of being present, as I was then in Boston. But here I am—sojourning in New York—and the next day on my way to Kansas! Such is my feeling life.

Accept the enclosed tribute in behalf of the cause we all have so near our hearts. I need not say that, under ordinary circumstances, it would be larger; but at present, my poor Kansas claims about all I have of purse, strength, energy, life!
But the moral is breaking! Thank God! Let the darkness thicken; there burns and smokes a sun behind the cloud! The day-imperial we have waited for so long is just at hand. Farewell!

Ever yours, sincerely,

THADDEUS HYATT.

LETTER FROM NATHAN WINSLOW, ESQ.

PORTLAND, (ME.) Jan. 21, 1861.

MARIA W. CHAPMAN AND ASSOCIATES:
DEAR SISTERS:—I received your invitation to the Subscription Anniversary was duly received. I feel highly honored by the invitation; and it would give me much pleasure to attend, but the delicate health of my dear wife will not permit of my leaving home at this inopportune season. There is just now much alarm exhibited throughout the country on account of secession; but I consider it the happiest circumstance for the past fifty years. We have only to wait, and see the providence of God in the movement.

Fraternally and respectfully, yours,

NATHAN WINSLOW.

LETTER FROM MRS. STEBBINS.

ANN ARBOR, (MICH.) Jan. 21, 1861.

DEAR MRS. GARRISON:
Your "Festival" day I always remember; and if it were in my power to aid you in proportion to my interest and remembrance, it would be gratifying indeed. I do not feel as do some others, that it is necessary to counter our efforts entirely to our own neighborhoods and State. If Massachusetts is industrious, vigilant and active, in her Anti-Slavery labors; if she sends her missionaries into the broad field for the benefit of the whole country; if New York does give aid and sympathy to each,—we shall lose nothing by Mrs. Stebbins's morally or pecuniarily. With love to you and prayers for the success of the righteous side, I am, with respect and affection,

CATHERINE A. F. STEBBINS.

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN CHASE.

AUBURN, (N. H.) Jan. 20, 1861.

MRS. MARIA W. CHAPMAN:
MADAM:—Enclosed find my subscription to the Anniversary. I greatly regret my inability to participate in the festivities of the evening. The abolitionists have now been at work for an entire generation; and although their labors have not yet been crowned with success, yet the cause seems to be approaching a crisis. If the North has no virtue enough to secede, it is well to let the South secede, as far as infatuated as to break up this "covenant with death."

I wish to give you, personally, and the ladies associated with you, a word of cheer and sympathy in your long and arduous labors for the slave.

Yours, for eternal right,

BENJAMIN CHASE.

LETTER FROM MRS. CHAPMAN.

NEW BEDFORD, Jan. 23, 1861.

I have been hoping to be present at the Subscription Festival this evening, as also at some of the sessions of the Annual Meeting; but home engagements prevent, and I must content myself with sending my small subscription. Never, in my opinion, was radical Anti-Slavery more needed than now, at this crisis in our national affairs, in order to guide the public conscience, clear and firm, through the political confusion. Though some good anti-slavery work may now be done elsewhere, and by other means, yet I regard it as the peculiar mission of the old Anti-Slavery organization to maintain and keep, in this nation, an Anti-Slavery party—a mission now, of all times, demanded. And to help this work forward, I enclose my subscription of Ten Dollars.

I am, yours with great respect,

W. J. POTTER.

MRS. MARIA W. CHAPMAN, Boston.

LETTER FROM HON. EDWARD HARRIS.

WOONSOCKET, (R. I.) Jan. 23, 1861.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN AND OTHER LADIES, at the 27th Annual Anti-Slavery Gathering in Boston, to be held this evening:
LADIES:—You are engaged in what I sincerely believe is a righteous cause,—the liberation of the bondmen. Just what our Saviour came to do. The progress of His principles has been slow, as may seem to us poor, short-sighted beings; but I believe they must triumph in the end.

I perceive our friend Phillips is bound to keep far ahead of public sentiment, as all reformers do. I enclose my check to your order for Ten Dollars, and bid you God speed. Should have been happy to meet you this evening, but cannot. Hope you will be protected against wicked work.

I remain your friend,

EDWARD HARRIS.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARY.

Mrs. Chapman,	\$200.00
Mrs. May,	50.00
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